

Outline for Presentation

- 1. Quest for Permanent International Criminal Tribunal—Impunity, Victors' Justice, & Never Again.
 - a. 1872 1st Franco-Prussian War
 - b. 1919—Treaty of Versaille (German Ex Emperor William II & Dutch Queen)
 - c. League of Nations; WW II; Nuremberg & Tokyo Trials
 - d. United Nations, Genocide Convention, International Human Rights Law, Geneva Conventions (ICRC)

2. Impunity

- Facilitated by state sovereignty. Can't interfere!
- b. Heads of state & others No international scrutiny of domestic acts
- c. Domestic courts controlled by perpetrators.
- d. Impunity if remain in power. Untouchable. Political.
- e. Reconciliation. Non-Accountability.

3. Victors' Justice?

- a. You can prosecute us because you won the war!
- b. Selective justice prosecute based on politics (ICTY/ICTR based on political will)
- c. You committed some of same acts (tu guogue)
- d. Argued by WW II & modern defendants.

4. Failed attempts to codify Nuremberg

- a. International Law Commission & predecessor
- b. Draft code of offences against peace & security of mankind;
- c. UN Special Rapporteur
- d. Reports & Draft Statutes (1950s onward)
- e. National Prosecutions.

5. Deviation from our permanent court quest --- Let's look at the law!

- a. Public International Law (See Chart)
 - i. International Criminal Law; Inmternational Human Rights Law; International Humanitarian Law
- b. Conflict Spectrum (See Chart)
 - i. Which law applies when?
 - ii. How has this changed in the US since 9-11?
- c. Let's use "torture" as our example
 - i. Inmternational Human Rights Law prohibits torture (multiple treaties, customary norms)
 - ii. International Humanitarian Law (Law of War) prohibits torture (e.g., Geneva Conventions)
 - iii. International Criminal Law (Ad hoc & Permanent International Criminal Tribunals prohibit torture) (see ICTY, ICTR, ICC & other statutes)

6. Another Deviation – How IU-Indianapolis Law Students & Faculty involved in IHRL, IHL & ICL?

- a. Guantanamo Bay defense (David Hicks Australian, Omar Khadr 15 year old Canadian); Slobodan Milosevic Defense (ICTY); UN Advocacy in Geneva & New York; Internships at the ICTY (The Haque), ICTR (Arusha), etc.
- b. Join the IU- Indianapolis Master of Laws (LL.M.) International Human Rights Law Track!

7. Introduction to Ad Hoc Tribunals

a. International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY, 1993)

- i. Genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes
- ii. Committed in Former Yugoslavia post '91
- iii. The Hague (Court seat). Share ICTR Appeals Chamber (The Hague)

b. Rwanda (1995)

- i. Genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes
- ii. Committed in Rwanda -- 1994
- iii. 1st genocide conviction (Akayesu, '98)
- iv. Arusha, Tanzania (Court seat). Share ICTY Appeals Chamber (The Hague)

c. Sierra Leone (2002)

- i. War crimes & crimes against humanity
- ii. Crimes after 30 November 1996
- iii. 11 Judges inc 4 from Sierra Leone

d. Cambodia (Cambodia & UN agree - October 2004)

- i. Hybrid Court
- ii. Genocide, Crimes Against Humanity, Grave breaches of Geneva Conventions
- iii. Crimes between 17 April '75 6 Jan '79 (Pol Pot & Khmer Rouge era)

e. East Timor -- UN created -- May 2000

- i. Crimes against humanity; war crimes; sexual offences; torture
- ii. Committed between 1 Jan & 25 Oct '99
- iii. Foreign & East Timorese Judges

8. Criticisms of Ad Hoc Tribunals

- a. Limited Jurisdiction Limited by situations, territory & tim
- b. Retroactive & responsive (weakens deterrence)
- c. Practical but inefficient
- d. Expensive
- e. Political will of Security Council

9. Other Reasons for a Permanent ICC

- a. Deterrence (General & Specific (More realistic than Nuremberg) (Safety/Security?)
- b. Punishment
- c. Redress & catharsis for Victims
- d. Promote Peace "No peace w/o Justice" ("Justice" means prosecution)
- e. Justice for victims (individual and societal)
- f. Justice for perpetrator (get what he deserves "just punishment").
- g. Record history Find the Truth
- h. Accountability
- i. Rehabilitation?
- j. Stop harm to international community?
- k. Strengthen individual (and societal?) rectitude
- Educate future & present generations—Build a record

10. Lead up to Rome Conference on ICC

- a. PrepComms
- b. Rome Conference Negotiating the Rome Statute
- c. Coming into Force (1 July 2002)
- d. Genocide, Crimes Against Humanity, War Crimes, Aggression

11. Post-ICC Alternatives to the ICC

- a. Iraq & Lebanon
- 12. Prospects for the future

- a. Will the ICC succeed?
- b. Darfur "Never Say Never Again" (Or "Never Again Say Never Again")
- c. Iraq (Impunity? Victors' Justice? Never Again?)
- d. Abu Ghraib (Impunity? Victors' Justice? Never Again?)
- e. Waterboarding. (Impunity? Victors' Justice? Never Again?)
- f. Kuwait. (Saddam executed before tried for invading Kuwait in 1990. Impunity?)
- 13. International Crimes
- 14. Criminal Law & Procedure before International Tribunals
- 15. Questions & Answers?